4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357–58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[46]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Gonçalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[47] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[48]

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[46] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[47] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.